DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 340 706 SP 033 524

AUTHOR Anderson-Levitt, Kathryn M.
TITLE What's French about French Teachers' Views of the Classroom?
PUB DATE Nov 90
NOTE 47p.; Paper presented at a symposium at a Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (November 30, 1990).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Classroom Research; *Comparative Education; *Cultural Influences; Culture; Foreign Countries; Foreign Culture; Grade 1; Parent Participation; Primary Education; *Student Behavior; *Teacher Behavior; *Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS *France; *United States

ABSTRACT

The study described here was conducted to compare classrooms in France and the United States. Two brief episodes from a U.S. first-grade classroom and two from a French first-grade classroom were shown to groups of parents and teachers in France, and to groups of teachers in the United States. Participants were asked to record their reactions on a written questionnaire and in group discussions. Questions were open-ended and viewers were asked to list events they noticed and describe students' and teachers' behaviors. Findings suggest three tentative conclusions: (1) some teachers' beliefs and values are part of their national culture; (2) many elements of teachers' professional teaching culture might best be analyzed in the context of their national culture of schooling; and (3) some beliefs and values about teaching belong to a culture which is neither a professional nor a national culture. Appendixes include: descriptions of the taped episodes; the viewing sessions; a sample page of the questionnaire; and tables listing tentative analysis from preliminary coding. (LL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED340706

What's French about
French Teachers' Views of the Classroom?

Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt
Department of Behavioral Sciences
University of Michigan-Dearborn

Presented at the American Anthropological Association
in a symposium organized by Susan Jungck entitled
"Where's the Culture in
Cultural Descriptions of the Classroom?"
November 30, 1990

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

K. Anderson-Levitt

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SP033524

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WHAT'S FRENCH ABOUT FRENCH TEACHERS' VIEW OF THE CLASSROOM?

Cultures of Teaching

Many different cultures are created in the classroom or brought to it by classroom members.[1] This paper investigates teachers' cultures; in it, I report on fieldwork with schoolteachers in France and on a comparative study of U.S. teachers, French teachers, and French parents. My goal is to unravel which of teachers' concepts and values come from the teachers' national culture and which from a transnational professional culture.

The sources of teachers' culture matters to different people for different reasons. To anthropologists and sociologists who wonder about the very nature of culture in a world where the Sambia listen to Beatles tapes (e.g., Hannerz, 1987), it is worthwhile to ask who shares which knowledge and values. To educational anthropologists, it is important to understand what is local and what is global about the nature of formal schooling. To reformers, it is essential to know which teacher concepts and values are so embedded in the nature of schooling across the globe that one can't hope to influence them through teacher education (Anderson-Levitt, 1987b).

This paper focuses on only some of the domains of teaching culture. It ignores, for example, teachers' knowledge of themselves as teachers (see Elbaz, 1983) and their knowledge about teaching as a career (Feiman-Nemser and Floden, 1986).

While it describes teachers' general knowledge of how to teach, it ignores most of their knowledge of classroom management (see Doyle, 1986). It does examine a subject-matter knowledge and a knowledge of subject-matter pedagogy (Shulman, 1987), namely, the language arts and particularly how to teach reading to first graders. It also concerns teachers' beliefs about the learners--here, 6-year-old first graders.

Is Teaching Culture Part of National Culture or a Transnational Professional Culture?

In 1987, a theme issue of the AEQ raised some fascinating questions about who shares what knowledge and values about classrooms. In this issue, the Spindlers (1987a) argued on the basis of their comparative study of a German and a U.S. school that teacher culture reflects national values and beliefs (see also Spindler 1982; Spindler and Spindler, 1987b). Their argument has since been supported by ethnographic research comparing preschools in China, Japan, and the U.S. (Fujita and Sano, 1988; Tobin, Wu, and Davidson, 1989). In the same issue of the AEQ, however, Ben-Peretz and Halkes (1987) presented a comparison of Dutch and Israeli teachers which demonstrated cross-national similarities in the teachers' interpretations of classroom events. (All of the studies cited so far used research methods in which teachers viewed and commented on videotapes or films of events from other nations' schools.) Ben-Peretz and Halkes come from a tradition of research on teacher thinking in

which few researchers even think to ask, as they did, about national differences; for instance, Ben-Peretz, Bromme, and Halkes (1986), Calderhead (1987), and Clark and Peterson (1986) imply that the studies they include or cite from several countries all contribute to our understanding of universal features of teachers' concepts or beliefs.

Ben-Peretz and Halkes' carefully documented claims about universals had to be taken seriously. Careful reading of their article and the Spindlers' suggested that the two studies did not necessarily contradict each other, for they conducted their comparisons at different levels of teaching culture (Anderson-Levitt, 1987b). Ben-Peretz and Halkes focused on interpretations of events (e.g., "The teacher starts lecturing"; "Students are listening but they are not interested"), while the Spindlers focused on values (e.g., Ought teachers to direct all classroom activity?) and on broad underlying propositions (e.g., Are children naturally wild?). One might conclude that there are cross-national similarities in teachers' knowledge for interpreting classroom events but national differences in teachers' evaluations of those events. In fact, Ben-Peretz and Halkes actually noted some differences in values (e.g., Is classroom noise good or bad?) while reporting similarities in interpretations.

This Study

Intrigued, I decided to use similar research methods to compare French and U.S. teachers. I already knew from fieldwork

in French elementary schools that, while classrooms operate rather differently in France and the U.S., teachers in the two countries talk rather similarly. I decided to include French parents in my study as well to get a better sense of national culture, that is, of what "everybody in France" knows about classrooms.

In 1988 and 1989, I showed videotapes of two brief episodes from an American first-grade classroom and two brief episodes from a French first-grade classroom to groups of parents and teachers in France, and groups of teacher in the U.S. The audiences recorded their reactions on a written questionnaire and in group discussions. (The Appendix and Anderson-Levitt [1989] describe the taped episodes, the viewing sessions, and the questionnaire.) Tables X, Y, and Z present information from the open-ended questions in which viewers were asked to list events they noticed, describe the students' behaviors, and describe the teacher's behavior in each videotaped episode. The table lists every comment which was volunteered by at least 10% of the French teachers, the French parents, or the U.S. teachers. Salient (that is, frequently mentioned) comments are taken to represent concepts or values which are important within a group's culture, and these tables are arranged to emphasize which concepts the French teachers shared with French parents, which with U.S. teachers, and which with both. I will refer to selected sections of these tables throughout the paper.

Audiences for the video-viewing sessions were relatively small; as many as 38 U.S. teachers but as few as 9 French teachers responded to particular questions about particular episodes. Therefore responses from the questionnaires and from the group discussions are presented here only to point the way or raise questions, not to claim any generalized findings. To provide a more balanced portrait of teachers' knowledge, this paper reports also on what I have learned from interviews with French teachers and participant-observation, short-term and long-term, in almost 50 French classrooms (Anderson-Levitt, 1987a).[2]

Overview

Who shares which knowledge and values was more complicated than expected. In the first place, it turned out to be important to distinguish knowledge for interpreting classroom events ("recognition") from knowledge for generating those events ("recipes" per Goodenough, 1971, or "rules" per Spradley, 1972). Moreover, despite many differences in "recipes" for generating reading lessons, and a few crucial differences in basic propositions about teaching, the French teachers and the U.S. teachers claimed to share many of the same values and propositions. The problem is that I cannot call these a teaching culture because the parents seemed to share them, too.

Knowledge for Interpreting and Generating Classroom Events

Shared knowledge for interpreting events. In the comparative video-viewing study, the French teachers were able to *recognize* and sometimes to offer succinct labels for what was going on in the videotaped episodes from an American classroom, and vice versa, rather as Ben-Peretz and Halkes (1987) describe in their Israeli-Dutch comparison. No one asked questions out in cultural left-field, such as, "Why are all those children enclosed in a room with one adult?," "Why is there a chalkboard on the wall?," or "What are they doing with all those identical books?" For example, most of the French teachers and some of the French parents recognized that the first U.S. episode involved reading a menu (Table X, Part I; the word "menu" did not appear on the French questionnaire). A few of the American teachers recognized that in the first French episode the teacher was asking the students to "fill in the blanks" in the text. A few of the French teachers and the French parents not only recognized what was happening in the first U.S. episode, but gave it a familiar, concise French label for such activities, "*découverte du document* (discovery of a text)" or simply "*découverte*" (Table X, Part II).

Of course, the language barrier prevented more precise recognition of events. For instance, as Table X, Part I, shows, all viewers were concerned when students appeared confused, but only Francophone viewers could recognize when children might be confused in the French classroom episodes and only Anglophone

viewers could know when children might be confused in the U.S. episodes. Similarly, it would have been nearly impossible for an American viewer to recognize that the French lessons implicitly concerned the sound of 'f' (see Table X, Part II), or the French viewers to recognize that the American children were thrown off by the very strange abbreviation of "RAT BEEF" for "roast beef" (Table Y, Part VII).

Different knowledge for generating events. Viewers will readily recognize something they do themselves, for they have a formula or "recipe" for generating the event--and perhaps a handy label, such as *découverte*, as well. However, it is also possible to recognize or interpret events without having a formula readily "at hand" for generating them. So it was that viewers sometimes expressed surprise or asked procedural questions even when they understood more or less what was going on.

One of the most basic, implicit formulas for running a class involves how to arrange the classroom furniture. When one French audience saw the first U.S. episode, a mother exclaimed, "*Ils n'ont pas de tables* (They don't have any tables)?!" Of course they do, I began to explain, but someone else countered,

> *Et le tableau? En France la manière d'enseigner, c'est avec le tableau noir. Aux États-Unis le tableau noir n'existe pas?*
>
> And the board? In France, the way to teach is with the blackboard. In the United States the blackboard doesn't exist?

He was right in the sense that almost all of the first grades I visited in France, not to mention many of the 5-year-old classes in nursery schools, the children sat at desks arranged in rows facing the chalkboard. Seeing the American children sitting on the rug in the first episode and sitting in a group at a round table in the second episode reminded many French viewers of nursery school (*l'école maternelle*). Over 20% of the French teachers and over 30% of the French parents noted the children's location when describing classroom events (Table X, Part II). They expressed surprise when they learned that these were 6-year-olds, just like French first graders.

As for knowing how to teach reading to first graders, both French teachers and American teachers carry on the same "cultural dialogue" (Spindler and Spindler, 1990) about emphasizing comprehension versus emphasizing phonics, with most teachers in both countries compromising on a "mixed" method of instruction. Once in the classroom, though, French and American teachers follow different recipes for conducting reading lessons. For example, the French teachers rely heavily on texts they write on the chalkboard, and have the children do considerable writing in chalk on slates and in ink on notebooks; the American teachers spend relatively more time, I think, having students read from their basal readers. Incidentally, the French teachers expect 6-year-olds to be able to write in cursive in ink while the American teachers hand out fat pencils and wide-ruled paper. (See Anderson-Levitt, 1987a, for details).

Perhaps most significantly, almost all American first-grade teachers divide the class into reading groups early in the year (Barr and Dreeben, 1983), whereas the French teachers use whole-class instruction most of the time. The latter divide their students into "*groupes de niveau*" (literally, "groups by level") only toward the end of the year and then only for some reading lessons. Some first-grade teachers in France do not divide into groups at all.

It's not that French teachers have never heard of grouping. The Ministry of Education encouraged grouping for a while during the 1970s in hopes of reducing the high rates at which teachers retained children in first grade (Anderson-Levitt, Sirota, and Mazurier, in press), and the popular press is again discussing grouping in the 1990s. Indeed, the local school inspector and the director of the local normal school had been promoting grouping for so long that when they saw the American tapes in a private viewing they were disappointed. "*Ce n'est pas tellement différent de ce qu'on fait chez nous* (It's not so different from what we do here)", they said, and, "*Le travail en petit groupe existe en France* (Small group work exists in France)." However, the teachers' reactions to the same tapes revealed that grouping, to the extent it is done at all in France, is not done according to the same formula.

Although the French teachers recognized the second U.S. episode as a small-group reading lesson, many professed ignorance about how to run such a group. "*Que font les autres enfants*

(What are the other children doing)?" asked several teachers on the written questionnaires (Table X, Part II) and more in the group discussions. *"Est-ce qu'ils font des exercices écrits* (Are they doing written exercises)?" one teacher guessed correctly. The teachers wanted to know other practical details as well: *"Il y en a combien de groupes de niveau dans une classe* (How many ability groups are there in a class?" one asked, and another, *"C'est un pratique assez systématique* (It's a fairly systematic practice)?" Some implied that the teacher who could manage the rest of the class while running a group had to be extraordinarily talented:

> *Quand on aura pu rencontrer une maîtresse de ce niveau-là, comme ça, qui peux travailler comme ça, qui réussisse à travailler comme ça . . .*
>
> When you can find a teacher of that level, like that [referring to the American teacher on the videotape], who can work like that, who succeeds in working like that . . . ! (Note subjunctive tense.)

Subtle differences between the teachers and the parents. I should note that the French parents who watched the U.S. episodes generally interpreted them in a manner very much as the French teachers did. For instance, just as many parents as teachers asked, "Where are the other children?" on the questionnaire (Table X, Part II) when they saw the small group, and parents as well as teachers used the pedagogical label *"découverte"* for the first U.S. episode (Table X, Part II).

When I mapped out all the comments which the French teachers, U.S. teachers, and French parents had volunteered to describe the videotaped classroom episodes, there was only one domain in which the French teachers talked more like the U.S. teachers than the French parents. The teachers in both countries noted much more often than the parents that the children were "reading"--"reading individually," "reading in chorus," "reading aloud," "reading silently," "reading the board," "reading from books" (Table X, Part III). It's not that the parents failed to recognize the act of reading when they saw it, for a few of them labeled the first French episode "reading lesson" (Table X, Part II); it's simply that this academic activity was more salient, more worthy of explicit mention, for the teachers than for the parents.

Otherwise, the parents seemed to share so much knowledge with the teachers that I had to wonder whether even nitty-gritty knowledge for how to run lessons ought to be considered part of the general national culture rather than part of a professional culture. However, certain comments revealed that most of the teachers understood more than most of the parents about the construction of particular lessons. For example, in a mixed group of parents and teachers which had just watched the first U.S. episode, the following conversation about *découverte* took place:

Mother: *Je n'ai pas pu comprendre s'il s'agisse d'une leçon de lecture ou--*

Tchr 1: *Si, c'est une leçon de découverte d'un menu.*

Tchr 2: *[A moment later in the conversation] Oh, oui, c'est le matin, je pense c'est l'arrivée le matin, on les met sur le tapis. On fait des observations, et puis apres (on en tire la leçon) . . .*

Tchr 1: *Nous sommes sensibilisés, tous les deux [she and Teacher 2] parce qu'on fait le CP, hein? . . . On comprend, hein?*

Tchr 2: *On fait pareil dans nos classes.*

Mother: I couldn't understand if it was a reading lesson or . . .

Tchr 1: But yes, it was a lesson on discovering a menu.

Tchr 2: [A moment later in the conversation] Oh, yes, it's the morning, I think it's arrival [of the children, i.e., the very beginning of the day], you put them on the rug. You make some observations, and then afterwards (you pull a lesson from them [the observations]) . . .

Tchr 1: We're both sensitized because we teach first grade, hm? We understand, hm?

Tchr 2: We do the same thing in our classes.

The conversation suggests that those parents who did use the label "*découverte*" were displaying a familiarity with French teacher culture rather than drawing on a knowledge which "everyone in France" shares. Along the same lines, although some French parents recognized that the pedagogical objective of the first and second French episodes was the study of the "[f] phoneme" (14% and 25% respectively, Table X, Part II), more

Abstract. Teaching culture is the body of knowledge, know-how and values teachers use to plan, carry on, and make sense of classroom events. This paper asks to what extent teaching culture derives from national culture, as some anthropologists have claimed, and to what extent teachers share a professional culture across national boundaries. French teachers, French parents, and American teachers were asked to react to videotaped episodes from first-grade classrooms in France and the U.S. The pattern of their reactions tentatively suggests (1) that some elements of teaching culture--here, attitudes about ability grouping--draw on national beliefs and values; (2) that much professional knowledge about how to carry on lessons is grounded in the national culture of the classroom rather than shared transnationally; and (3) that a cluster of ideals regarding student participation and small classes is shared in France and the U.S. not only by teachers but also by the parents who participated in this study.

French teachers made this rather technical observation (34% and 50% respectively, same table).

Beliefs and Values about Teaching in General

National differences. Like the Spindlers, I found cross-national differences in basic tenets and values. Several of these differences related to the fact that French teachers choose not to group. First, French teachers do not take for granted that 6-year-olds are capable of working when the teacher is absent. In response to the second U.S. episode, in which the children continue to read even when the teacher walks away, some French teachers remarked on the children's "*autonomie*" and freedom (Table Y, Part IV). In a group discussion, one teacher contrasted the American scene with what happens when she works with a student individually while the others do seatwork:

> *Mais du moment, moi, je leur donne un travail à faire . . . beaucoup--par exemple . . . il y a des enfants qui se mettent au travail, il y en un turbulent . . . Il y a ceux qui finissent très vite et puis . . .*
>
> But the moment I give them a task to do . . . many--for example . . . there are children who start working, and there's a noisy, rowdy one . . . There are those who finish quickly and then . . .

Some French parents expressed the same skepticism about first graders' capabilities. "*Je pense que tous les enfants ne*

se discipline pas aussi facilement (I don't think all children are so easily disciplined)," wrote one parent on a questionnaire. Another offered the same reason explicitly to justify whole-class instruction:

> *Certains enfants sont incapables de reprendre ou de se débrouiller seul. Ce travail "individuel" doit être fait à la maison.*
>
> Certain children are incapable of returning [to work] or of managing by themselves. This 'individual' work must be done at home.

These remarks belong to a general expectation in France that children will run wild when unsupervised. Just as the Spindlers observed in Germany, French children appear to American observers to be out of control on the playground and correspondingly constrained in most classrooms. Note in Table Y (Part II) that the French viewers but not the American viewers thought to comment on the children's calmness, activity level, and spontaneity.

During my fieldwork, teachers offered an additional rationale for choosing not to group. As one teacher put it, "We don't have the right to group too much for fear of 'cataloging.'" The ethic of *égalité* is very strong in France, and equality has traditionally been defined as perfectly equal treatment of everybody, rather than as compensatory treatment to create equal opportunity (Régine Sirota, personal communication). Thus in the video-viewing sessions, both teachers and parents asked a pointed

question: "*A la fin de l'année, savent-ils tous lire de la même façon* (At the end of the year, do they all know how to read in the same way)?" In a group discussion, one father asked about the American teacher,

> *Est-ce qu'elle donne plus de temps à ceux qui sont mauvais, est-ce qu'elle laisse tomber ceux qui sont bons . . . ? (Il y a un) problème d'équilibre.*
>
> Does she give more time to those who are bad, does she drop those who are good ...? (There's a) problem of balance.

His remarks sparked a long debate for and against homogeneous grouping.

The fact that the French parents made objections to ability grouping very much like the French teachers' objections suggests that the differences between the French and American teachers on this issue are differences of national culture.

Fieldwork identified a few other basic tenets which may belong to French national character, but I cannot be sure how French parents feel about them because they did not come up in the comparative study. For instance, the French teachers do not share the belief widely held (?) by American teachers that low self-concept hinders achievement. I have witnessed teachers in France criticizing a child in front of the child's parents or peers in the manner reported by Wylie (1974).

Similarities. Despite these differences, which matter a great deal to classroom practices, French teachers appear to share many, many beliefs and values with American teachers. Just as an observer discovers patterns underlying the distinctive styles of different teachers within one country (Anderson-Levitt, 1987a; Spindler and Spindler, 1987b), so a listener hears common themes when teachers talk in the United States and in France.

As mentioned above, teachers in both countries carry on the same dialogue about phonics and comprehension. They also agree that smaller classes are better. Seeing about 15 students on the screen in the first U.S. episode, for example, a French teacher said, "*Ils ne sont pas très nombreux, hein* (There are not very many of them, huh)?" When I explained that this was a small class but that one could find 40 or more in some U.S. first grades, there were audible gasps. In France, first grades are limited by law to 25 students, other elementary grades to 35. French parents were equally interested in class size. A few commented on it when they saw the first U.S. episode (Table X, Part V), and in one parent discussion group, when one father said, *Imaginez la classe de Madame Monet sur le tapis* (Imagine Madame Monet's class on the rug!" another replied, "*Il y a trop de monde* (There are too many [students])." Madame Monet had a class of 25.

Surprisingly, although the French teachers do not practice the kind of grouping they saw on the American videotape and although they had definite reasons for not doing so, many of them

expressed admiration of this teaching method. "*Cette méthode doit permettre aux enfants de progresser assez vite, la maîtresse étant très près des enfants* (This method must permit the children to progress fairly quickly, the teacher being very close to the children)," wrote one teacher on the questionnaire. Many French parents had the same reaction. "*La méthode permet de suivre chaque enfant* (The method permits one to follow each child)," wrote one parent, and another,

> *Certainement positif pour cerner les problèmes de chaque enfant. Favorise certainement les progrès des enfants de difficulté.*
>
> Certainly positive for identifying each child's problems. Certainly favors the progress of children in difficulty.

The French viewers' interest in the "attentiveness" and "availability" of the American teacher (Table Z, Part II) also suggest a positive reaction to what they considered a fairly student-centered teaching method.

The American teachers were much more critical of the American small-group episode than French audiences. The pattern can clearly be seen in Table 1, which shows responses on the questionnaire item, "Were you comfortable with what she [the teacher] was doing?"[3] Whereas the mean rating by French teachers and parents was quite favorable (4 on a 5-point scale), the mean rating by U.S. teachers was rather unfavorable (2 on a 5-point scale). However, none of the American teachers expressed

disapproval of small groups *per se*. Rather, some of them criticized the use of "round robin" reading in the small group, and many others complained that the teacher on the videotape appeared bored.

At the same time, the American teachers tended to agree with the French audiences in their evaluation of the French teacher's methods, giving lukewarm to mildly negative ratings (Table 2). The American teachers described the videotaped French teacher as "teaching 'at' the children" and her method as "too teacher oriented." Similarly, many of the French teachers commented on "directiveness" (Table Z, Part V) tending to criticize the French teacher as too "directive" and to praise the American teacher as not very directive. The French teachers acknowledged that the "directive" style was a "*classique*," "*traditionnelle*" method in France, but one that most of them no longer practiced.

For all the viewers, criticism of a too strongly teacher-centered classroom went hand in hand with concern for students' "*participation.*" When describing the children in the first French episode, for example, 25% of the French teachers and 55% of the French parents volunteered that children were or were not "participating" (Table Y, Part II). The American teachers also commented on "participation" or what they preferred to call "involvement" (Table X, Part I).

Like the French audiences, the American teachers also volunteered many descriptions of the children as "paying attention" or "not paying attention" (Table Y, Part I).

More subtle differences between the French teachers and the French parents. Throughout this section, I have claimed that the French parents expressed values and propositions very similar to the French teachers'. There were detectable differences, however, as elaborated in Anderson-Levitt (1989). The parents gave even greater emphasis to "participation" and "attention" than the teachers did (e.g., Table Y, Part II), while the teachers took care to explain why not all children can be expected to be paying attention or participating during every moment of a lesson. I suspect that the teachers' nuanced views grew out of their own classroom experiences and thus represented, like their personal familiarity with *découverte*, part of their professional culture. Moreover, it would seem logical to expect that American teachers would make the same kinds of fine clarifications. All I can conclude from the video-viewing sessions, however, is that the American teachers were not quite as concerned with "participation," "attention," and "interest" as the French parents (Table X, Part I; Table X, Part VI; Table Y, Part II).

Conclusions

My fieldwork and the comparative study suggest three tentative conclusions: (1) that some of teachers' beliefs and values are indeed part of their national culture; (2) that many elements of teachers' professional teaching culture might best be

analyzed in the context of their national culture of schooling; (3) that some beliefs and values about teaching belong to a culture which is neither a professional culture nor a national culture.

(1) National culture and teaching culture are related in two different ways. First, as the Spindlers argue so eloquently, the surrounding national culture shapes beliefs and values held about the classroom. In the case at hand, the French teachers' and parents' belief about 6-year-old irresponsibility, like their commitment to *égalité*, originated outside the classroom but profoundly affected teaching culture.

At the same time, however, some concepts originate in the classroom and then become part of national culture. For example, the French teachers I studied shared with the French parents, but not with the American teachers, a model or set of expectations for recognizing a "normal" classroom and a "normal" lesson--children in desks facing the board, teacher dealing with the whole class. "Everybody in France" has acquired this "national culture of the classroom" because they have shared many classroom experiences in common, even though French schooling has changed over recent decades (Anderson-Levitt, 1989; see also, Anderson-Levitt, Sirota & Mazurier, in press, Prost, 1981; Vincent, 1980).

Now, national classroom culture influences teaching culture to the extent that teachers' childhood memories of school shape their professional knowledge (Anderson-Levitt, 1989b; Cuban,

1984; Lortie, 1975). This is a special case of national culture shaping teaching culture. However, prior generations of teachers, drawing on their professional knowledge, strongly influenced those childhood memories everyone shares. In the latter sense, teaching culture has shaped this part of national culture vice versa.

(2) As for a transnational teaching culture--that is, knowledge or know-how which teachers share across national boundaries--my comparative study did *not* provide much evidence for it. There were only a few observations about the videotaped episodes that the French teachers shared exclusively with their American colleagues, notably those describing the students' reading (Table X, Part III). Whatever else the teachers recognized, French parents recognized, too. These tentative findings suggest that at *the general level of classroom interpretation* which Ben-Peretz and Halkes (1987) studied, they might have found almost as many similarities between any educated Israeli and Dutch viewers as they found between the Israeli and Dutch teachers.

This is certainly not to deny the existence of a body of professional knowledge for teaching. Those who study teacher thinking and teacher socialization have amply demonstrated that expert teachers know how to manage classrooms and get across cognitive material in ways that novices (or parents) do not (e.g., Clark and Peterson, 1986; Leinhardt and Greeno, 1986; White, 1989). However, this study suggests that a specifically

professional culture may consist largely of the how-to knowledge, the recipes. Thus French teachers shared with the American teachers (or at least, the American teacher in the videotape), but not necessarily with the French parents, the know-how for organizing a lesson around the "discovery" of a text.

Moreover, contrary to my expectations, most of the exclusively professional culture described here (and in Anderson-Levitt, 1987a) is grounded in national classroom culture. For example, the French teachers could sequence a (French) reading lesson on the 'f' sound in their sleep. French parent, although they may recognize one, could not walk into a French classroom and conduct one--but neither could American teachers (language barrier aside). By the same token, knowing how to run reading groups is part of a peculiarly American teaching culture. American parents wouldn't know how to walk into a classroom, organize groups, and keep them running smoothly--but neither would French teachers.

(3) Finally, it was surprising to discover so much apparent agreement between the American teachers and the French parents, not to mention the French teachers, regarding ideals for the classroom. The transnational consensus concerns several propositions which form a coherent cluster: classes should be small and not too teacher-centered, so that students not only pay attention but participate in a lively and natural manner. Given these values, French teachers are even disposed to regard small-group teaching favorably, although they retain reservations about

homogeneous grouping. The result of active student participation in small classes or small groups, one presumes, would be happier children who learn better.

Lest anyone finds this cluster of propositions too obviously correct to discuss, let me point out that preschool teachers in Japan do not believe that smaller classes are good for children (Tobin, Wu and Davidson, 1989), and that student participation has gained favor with French teachers only gradually since the 1930s and 1940s (Vincent, 1981). These are ideals that have gained acceptance among particular groups of people during a particular historical period.

Are these ideals an element of contemporary Western culture? Surely not--not in the sense that these are values shared by everyone in "European" countries. Plenty of literature from France (Reed-Danahay, 1987; Sirota, 1988) and Great Britain (e.g., Willis, 1981) as well as the U.S. suggests that not all families recognize the latest teaching methods ("Ah, yes, a discovery lesson") nor value student participation so highly. Middle-class parents, and working-class parents who belong to parent-teacher. associations Henriot-Van Zanten, 1989) are more likely to subscribe to these ideals. (My "sample" of parent video viewers was, of course, included mostly those kinds of parents).

Is this part of a Western middle-class culture, then? Perhaps, but not necessarily. It is not entirely clear that teachers draw this cluster of student-participation values from a

broader middle class. Middle-class parents probably also draw beliefs and values about child-rearing from teaching culture. To take an example concerning preferred discourse styles, one can read the literature (e.g., Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1986) as arguing that teachers value middle-class discourse styles, but one can also read it an arguing that middle-class parents value school discourse. (I'm a middle-class mother; do teachers talk like me in the classroom--or do I talk like a teacher at home?) I would suggest then that the student-participation ideals may have originated with teachers, or with educators, or with the helping professions (educators, doctors, journalists, advice columnists), and that parents who are comfortable around schools then picked them up. Thus these ideals came to be shared across national boundaries by teachers and by other people "in the know," but not by everyone. Rather than calling them a part of middle-class culture, it might be more appropriate to refer to them as "received knowledge" or a "dominant ideology," as knotty as those terms are (Reed-Danahay and Anderson-Levitt, in press).

Recognizing that not everyone in the West, in fact, not everyone in France or the U.S., necessarily subscribes to student-participation values, linear discourse styles, or other teaching norms raises a doubt about the concept of "national" culture above. While "everybody in France" may share a national classroom culture at the level of recognizing classroom routines, does "everyone in France" share the belief that children are naturally wild, or the value of *égalité*? When we describe

"national" cultures, do we really refer to one "mainstream" national culture among many other systems of beliefs and practices used by other members of the same society (Spindler and Spindler, 1990)?

I conclude, tentatively, with the following portrait of teaching culture: Teachers bring knowledge, know-how, and values to the classroom and draw on them to construct, jointly with their students, a local culture of the classroom. Some of the teaching culture the teachers bring is simply borrowed from the (mainstream) national culture. Much of it consists of specific professional formulas for conducting lessons and managing (even exciting) children, formulas which other members of the society recognize very well, but could not necessarily carry out. These recognitions are another part of a national culture, but a part which originated inside schools. Finally, some of teaching culture consists of grand ideals ("Smaller classes are better," "Classes should be more student-centered") which get diffused from country to country and which wax and wane in popularity within a country over time. However, because ideals must be made concrete in rather different national settings, they do not translate into the same classroom realities in different countries. It is true, for example, that "small groups exist in France," but how differently teachers organize them and how differently they affect children!

Defining culture as *shared* knowledge, beliefs, know-how and values really is useful, I think, as long as one never takes for granted who shares what and who claims to share what. Goodenough (1971) and Spradley's (1972) distinction between society (people) and what they know (culture) is still an important lesson. If we keep in mind that belonging to a group is not the same thing as participating in a culture, we will avoid many a false and even dangerous attribution of a particular "black culture" to people with African genes, a particular "American culture" to people who live in the U.S., or a particular "teaching culture" to teachers and only teachers.

Notes

Acknowledgements. The comparative study reported here was made possible by a University of Michigan Rackham Grant for Faculty Development, and by the generous help of Martine Mazurier, Amy Anderson, Leon Levitt, and anonymous teachers and administrators. The prior fieldwork was funded by a training grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, a doctoral dissertation grant from the National Science Foundation, and a pre-dissertation grant from the Council for European Studies.

(1) A partial list would include:

(1) The local classroom culture, that is, the system of understandings developed by a particular group of students and their teacher over the course of a year (e.g., Shultz & Florio, 1977).

(2) Understandings shared at the level of the school, the district, or the state, such as the understanding that "that's how classrooms are in Harlem" described by Rosenfeld (1973).

(3) A national classroom culture, that is, the understandings about classrooms shared by everyone who's ever lived within a classroom in a particular society. Many classroom ethnographies as well as general anthropological and sociological discussions describe classroom culture at this level (e.g., Cazden, 1986; Mehan, 1979).

In industrial nations, virtually every member of society has passed through classrooms, and thus a national classroom culture would seem to be part of a broader national culture. Actually, it would be more appropriate to the "dominant" national culture, for while everyone in the society may understand how classrooms work, not every member adheres to the same beliefs and values about classrooms (e.g., Willis, 1977). (More on this below.)

(4) A transnational classroom culture, that is, understandings about classrooms shared across several nations, or perhaps even everywhere formal mass schooling exists.

In addition to the layers of understandings shared by teacher and students (and increasingly wider nets of others as we move from (2) to (4)), different classroom members bring with them understandings which are not necessarily shared by everyone in the classroom. These include:

(5) "Ethnic" and "class" cultures (e.g., a preference for talk-story attributed to Hawaiian children; a quiet, slow-paced style attributed to Athabascan teachers; a linear narrative style attributed to middle-class teachers and students. I word this statement cautiously because Piper-Mandy and Sullivan (1988) have demonstrated very powerfully how anthropologists fall into the Same Old Stereotypes when we write about "black culture" or "working-class culture" in the classroom.

(6) Student culture, ranging from understandings shared by members of a particular class (e.g., knowing which students got invited to Sarah's birthday party) to those shared by children across national boundaries (e.g., Opie and Opie, 1959).

(7) Teacher culture. The knowledge and values teachers draw on to generate and interpret what goes on in class is the focus of this paper.

(2) No, the fieldwork did not take place in Paris, but in the neighborhoods, suburbs, and surrounding villages of a medium-sized provincial city I call "Villefleurie." All proper names are pseudonyms.

(3) In French this was translated, "*Etes-vous d'accord avec sa façon de faire?*", more literally, "Do you agree with her way of doing things?" On the U.S. rating scale, 1 was the highest rating and 5 the lowest, but in the tables the scale has been modified to correspond with the French scale.

References

Anderson-Levitt, Kathryn M.
1987a Cultural Knowledge for Teaching First Grade: An Example from France. In George D. Spindler and Louise Spindler, Eds. Interpretive Ethnography at Home and Abroad. Hillsdale, NJ: LEA.

1987b National Culture and Teaching Culture. Anthropology and Education Quarterly.

1989a Degrees of Distance between Teachers and Parents in Urban France. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 20(2):97-117.

1989b Memory and Ideals in French Classrooms. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association.

Anderson-Levitt, Kathryn M., Régine Sirota, and Martine Mazurier
in press Elementary Education in France. Elementary School Journal.

Barr, Rebecca, and Robert Dreeben
1983 How Schools Work. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ben-Peretz, Miriam, and Rob Halkes
1987 How Teachers Know Their Classrooms: A Cross-cultural Study of Teachers' Understandings of Classroom Situations. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 18(1):17-32.

Ben-Peretz, Miriam, Rainer Bromme, and Rob Halkes, Eds.
1986 Advances of Research on Teacher Thinking. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Calderhead, James, Ed.
1987 Exploring Teachers' Thinking. London: Cassell.

Cazden, Courtney
1986 Classroom Discourse. In Melvin Wittrock, ed. Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan.

Clark, Christopher, and Penelope Peterson
1986 Teachers' Thought Processes. In Melvin Wittrock Ed. Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1986.

Cuban, Larry
1984 How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1980. New York: Longman.

Doyle, Walter
1986 Classroom Management. In Melvin Wittrock, ed. Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan.

Elbaz, Freema
1983 Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge. London: Croom Helm/Nichols.

Feiman-Nemser, Sharon, and Robert Floden
1986 The Cultures of Teaching. In Melvin Wittrock, Ed. Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed. NY: Macmillan.

Fujita, Mariko, and Toshiyuki Sano
1988 Children in American and Japanese Day-Care Centers. In Henry Trueba and Concha Delgado-Gaitan, Eds. School and Society. New York: Praeger.

Goodenough, Ward H.
1971 Culture, Language, and Society. Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology No. 7.

Hannerz, Ulf
1987 The World in Creolization. Africa 57(4):546-559.

Heath, Shirley Brice
1983 Ways with Words. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Henriot-Van Zanten, Agnès
1990 L'École et l'espace local. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

Leinhardt, Gaea, and James G. Greeno
1986 The Cognitive Skill of Teaching. Journal of Educational Psychology 78(2):75-95.

Lortie, Dan
1975 Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Mehan, Hugh
1979 Learning Lessons. Cambridge: Harvard.

Michaels, Sarah
1986 Narrative Presentations: An Oral Preparation for Literacy with First Graders. In Jenny Cook-Gumperz, Ed. The Social Construction of Literacy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Opie, Iona, and Peter Opie
1959 The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. Oxford: Oxford.

Piper-Mandy, Erlyne, and Cheryl Sullivan
1988 Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association.

Prost, Antoine
1981 Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France. Vol 4, L'école et la famille dans une société en mutation (1930-1980). Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah
1987 Farm Children at School: Educational Strategies in Rural France. Anthropological Quarterly 60(2):83-89.

Rosenfeld, Gerry
1973 "Shut Those Thick Lips." NY: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.

Shulman, Lee
1987 Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform. Harvard Educational Review 57(1), 1-22.

Shultz, Jeffrey, and Susan Florio
1977 Stop and Freeze: The Negotiation of Social and Physical Space in a Kindergarten/First Grade Classroom.

Sirota, Régine
1988 L'École primaire au quotidien. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Spindler, George D.
1982 Roger Harker and Schönhausen: From Familiar to Strange and Back Again. In George Spindler, Ed. Doing the Ethnography of Schooling. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Spindler, George D., and Louise Spindler
1987a Cultural Dialogue and Schooling in Schoenhausen and Roseville: A Comparative Analysis. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 18(1):1-16.

1987b Schönhausen Revisited and the Rediscovery of Culture. In George D. Spindler and Louise Spindler, Eds. Interpretive Ethnography of Education at Home and Abroad. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

1982 The American Cultural Dialogue. New York: Falmer.

Spradley, James P.
1972 Foundations of Cultural Knowledge. In James Spradley, Ed. Culture and Cognition. San Francisco: Chandler.

Tobin, Joseph, David Wu, and Dana Davidson
1989 Preschools in Three Cultures. New Haven: Yale.

Vincent, Guy
1980 L'école primaire en France. Étude sociologique. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

White, Jane J.
1989 Student Teaching as a Rite of Passage. Anthropology and Education Quarterly 20(3):177-195.

Willis, Paul
1981[1977] Learning to labor. New York: Columbia.

Wylie, Laurence
1974 Village in the Vaucluse, 3rd ed. Cambridge: Harvard.

APPENDIX ON THE VIDEO-VIEWING SESSIONS

The Videotaped Episodes

The American episodes were excerpted with permission from a black-and-white videotape entitled "When Is Reading?" produced by Ceil Kovac and Stephen R. Cahir for the series, *Exploring Functional Language* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 19810. The two episodes come from the same first-grade classroom.

U.S. Episode 1 (2 minutes): "The Menu/Sur le Tapis"

The teacher sits on a low chair and about 20 children sit on the floor in front of her. The teachers asks various children to read and interpret Wednesday's cafeteria menu, which is apparently posted on an easel. The abbreviation Rat. Beef Sand. confuses and amuses students.

U.S. Episode 2 (7 minutes): "Small Group/Petit Groupe"

The camera shows three boys and a girl with the teacher at a round table (and a camera operator in the background). The children take turns reading from a basal reader. The teacher is interrupted by other class members and a messenger. When she excuses herself from the group, the four continue to read and occasionally correct one another. On the teacher's return she admonishes one of the boys for failing to follow on the correct page.

The French episodes were chosen from taping done in three first-grade classrooms in May, 1988. Both episodes, which are in color, come from the same classroom and are prefaced by a one-minute segment showing the class in an excited examination of baby teeth. See Anderson-Levitt (1988) on why these excerpts were chosen.

French Episode 1 (4 minutes): "At the Board/Au Tableau"

Madame Monet writes a text, with three blanks to fill in, on the board. She asks a boy to read the first sentences aloud, then leads the class in discovering the missing words (which all begin with f). She calls on a girl to read the remaining text.

French Episode 2 (7 minutes): "Books/Livres"

The teacher stands in a front corner of the classroom and calls on different children to read from a vocabulary list in the basal readers they hold. She often stops them to interrogate the class on the meaning of a word, and spends a long time trying to elicit from them a homophone for the word *phoque*.

Viewing Sessions

These videotaped episodes were shown to groups of parents and teachers in France, and to teachers in graduate education courses in the U.S. In some cases, French groups watched only the U.S. tapes because of lack of time or because they knew Madame Monet. After each episode, the viewers were asked to respond in writing to the questions on the appended questionnaire, which had been piloted in the U.S. but not in France. After the viewers wrote for about 5 minutes, I initiated a group discussion, asking the viewers whether the episodes from their own country were "typical" and whether anything in the "foreign" episodes surprised them. Meanwhile, they questioned me about what they had seen.

Analysis

The "ratings" of teachers and students have been compared. The responses volunteered on the open-ended items of the questionnaires have been categorized and counted to identify the most salient concepts. The group discussions have been transcribed and are being examined for fuller elaborations of the salient concepts.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE -- A SAMPLE PAGE

France At the board

1. **What happened in this episode? List events you noticed:**

   1)
   2)
   .
   .
   .

2. **How would you describe what the teacher was doing in 2 or 3 key words?**

   _____ _____ _____

   Were you comfortable with or did you approve of what she was doing? (Circle the appropriate number.)

   Very much so <----------Neutral----------> Not at all

   1 2 3 4 5

   (Optional) Please explain:

3. **How would you describe what the children were doing in 2 or 3 key words?**

   _____ _____ _____

   Were you comfortable with or did you approve of what they were doing? (Circle the appropriate number.)

   Very much so <----------Neutral----------> Not at all

   1 2 3 4 5

   (Optional) Please explain:

4. **(Optional) Further comments? Note them here or on the back.**

Thank you!

Table X. Salient concepts in descriptions of classroom events[1]

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
I. SALIENT FOR ALL VIEWERS			
The class reads a menu			
U.S. episode 1	15%	85%	29%
This is a small group lesson			
U.S. episode 2	49%	71%	43%
The class fills in the blanks			
French episode 1	29%	40%	14%
Teacher leaves the small group			
U.S. episode 2	17%	29%	22%
Students confused/lesson difficult			
French episode 2	25%	13%	
U.S. episode 1			13%
Students do/don't participate			
French episode 1	29%	27%	
French episode 2	25%		18%
U.S. episode 1	12%		
II. SALIENT FOR FRENCH VIEWERS			
This is a reading lesson			
French episode 1	14%	15%	
Where are the others?			
U.S. episode 2	17%	17%	
It's *découverte* (discovery)			
U.S. episode 1	11%	11%	
It's a lesson on 'f' or [f]			
French episode 1	14%	34%	
French episode 2	25%	50%	
It involves vocabulary, word study			
French episode 1	14%		
French episode 2	50%	69%	
U.S. episode 1		12%	
Comments on the location or body position of students, teacher			
U.S. episode 1	31%	23%	

Table X, cont'd

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
III. SALIENT FOR TEACHERS			
The students read			
French episode 1			21%
French episode 2		19%	24%
U.S. episode 1			32%
U.S. episode 2		21%	27%
There's individual reading			
French episode 1			19%
French episode 2		13%	
U.S. episode 2		21%	27%
The students/class discuss			
French episode 2			21%
U.S. episode 1		11%	
Students interrupt the teacher			
U.S. episode 2		17%	32%
VI. SALIENT FOR FRENCH TEACHERS ONLY			
It involves grammar, spelling			
French episode 1		20%	
V. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS ONLY			
Comments on the number of students			
U.S. episode 1	15%		
VI. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS AND U.S. TEACHERS			
Students do/don't pay attention			
French episode 1	36%		
French episode 2			15%
U.S. episode 1			13%

Table X, cont'd

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
VII. SALIENT FOR U.S. TEACHERS ONLY			
It's a whole-class lesson			
French episode 1			11%
French episode 2			12%
It's a lesson at the board			
French episode 1			35%
The teacher writes on the board			
French episode 1			38%
Students read in unison			
French episode 1			14%
The teacher questions			
French episode 1			24%
French episode 2			39%
U.S. episode 1			32%
Students respond			
French episode 1			16%
French episode 2			36%
U.S. episode 1			16%
Teacher asks day of the week			
U.S. episode 1			13%
Class discusses abbreviations			
U.S. episode 1			45%
Teacher talks, lectures			
French episode 2			15%
Students do/don't follow			
U.S. episode 2			16%

1. Only concepts mentioned by more than 10% of a group are included here. This is a DRAFT based on initial coding of the questionnaires.

The number of persons who responded to the question "List the events you noticed" for each episode is as follows:

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
French episode 1	14	15	37
French episode 2	17	16	33
U.S. episode 1	26	26	38
U.S. episode 2	35	24	37

Table Y. Salient concepts in description of students' behaviors[2]

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
I. SALIENT FOR ALL VIEWERS			
Do/don't pay attention			
French episode 1	56%		
French episode 2	33%	20%	16%
U.S. episode 1	19%	19%	24%
U.S. episode 2	37%	22%	
Fidget, wiggle, move around			
French episode 1	11%		26%
French episode 2			25%
U.S. episode 1			21%
U.S. episode 2		11%	12%
II. SALIENT FOR FRENCH VIEWERS			
Do/don't participate			
French episode 1	55%	25%	
French episode 2	33%		
U.S. episode 1	13%	25%	
U.S. episode 2	11%	11%	
Are/are not interested			
French episode 1	22%	25%	
French episode 2	33%	20%	
U.S. episode 1		25%	
U.S. episode 2	11%	11%	
Are/are not motivated			
French episode 1	11%		
French episode 2	11%		
U.S. episode 1		19%	
U.S. episode 2	11%		
Are calm, quiet, well behaved, docile			
French episode 1	11%	17%	
French episode 2		10%	
U.S. episode 1	31%		
U.S. episode 2	11%		
"Good"			
French episode 2		30%	
U.S. episode 2	11%	28%	
Are/are not active, lively			
French episode 1	11%	33%	
French episode 2		20%	
U.S. episode 1	13%		
U.S. episode 2		11%	
Are natural, spontaneous, at ease			
French episode 2		10%	
U.S. episode 1	19%	19%	
U.S. episode 2		11%	

Table Y, cont'd

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
III. SALIENT FOR TEACHERS			
(none)			
IV. SALIENT FOR FRENCH TEACHERS ONLY			
Are free (*libre*)			
U.S. episode 2		11%	
Are autonomous, responsible for selves			
U.S. episode 2		17%	
"Normal"			
U.S. episode 2		11%	
V. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS ONLY			
Make an effort			
U.S. episode 2	11%		
Are bored			
French episode 1	11%		
French episode 2	11%		
Are/are not disciplined, orderly			
U.S. episode 1	13%		
U.S. episode 2	21%		
VI. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS AND U.S. TEACHERS			
Do/don't listen			
French episode 1			43%
French episode 2	11%		44%
U.S. episode 1			21%
U.S. episode 2			24%

Table Y, cont'd

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
VII. SALIENT FOR U.S. TEACHERS ONLY			
Read			
French episode 1			31%
Answer, respond			
French episode 1			18%
U.S. episode 1			43%
U.S. episode 2			56%
React to "RAT" abbreviation			
U.S. episode 1			18%
Correct, help one another			
U.S. episode 2			24%
Think, inquire			
French episode 1			14%
U.S. episode 1			12%
Follow, follow along in books			
French episode 1			14%
U.S. episode 2			12%
Are confused			
U.S. episode 1			18%
Look around			
French episode 1			11%
Play, fool around			
French episode 2			28%
U.S. episode 2			15%

2. Only concepts mentioned by more than 10% of a group are included here. This is a DRAFT based on initial coding of the questionnaires.

The number of persons who responded to the question "Describe the students" for each episode is as follows:

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
French episode 1	9	12	35
French episode 2	9	10	32
U.S. episode 1	16	16	33
U.S. episode 2	19	18	33

Table 2. Salient concepts in description of teacher's behaviors[1]

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
I. SALIENT FOR ALL VIEWERS			
Is/is not directive, directs			
French episode 1		27%	
French episode 2		11%	
U.S. episode 1	13%	21%	
U.S. episode 2		11%	15%
II. SALIENT FOR FRENCH VIEWERS			
Attentive			
U.S. episode 2	17%	11%	
Available (*disponible*)			
U.S. episode 1		14%	
U.S. episode 2	11%	11%	
Is/is not active, lively			
U.S. episode 1	31%	14%	
U.S. episode 2	17%	17%	
Is/is not pleasant, warm, agreable			
French episode 2		11%	
U.S. episode 1	31%		
III. SALIENT FOR TEACHERS			
Listens, *à l'écoute*			
U.S. episode 1		14%	
U.S. episode 2			33%
IV. SALIENT FOR FRENCH TEACHERS ONLY			
Traditional, classic			
French episode 1		18%	
French episode 2		33%	
Individuelle (individualized)			
U.S. episode 2		11%	
"Good"			
U.S. episode 1		14%	

Table 2, cont'd

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
V. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS ONLY			
Is not dynamic, enthusiastic			
French episode 1	17%		
Is/is not motivated			
French episode 1	25%		
Too difficult, technical			
French episode 2	17%		
VI. SALIENT FOR FRENCH PARENTS AND U.S. TEACHERS			
Explains			
French episode 1	25%		12%
French episode 2			
VII. SALIENT FOR U.S. TEACHERS ONLY			
Writes			
French episode 1			15%
Reads			
French episode 2			13%
U.S. episode 1			21%
Questions			
French episode 1			38%
U.S. episode 1			35%
U.S. episode 2			56%
Teaches, instructs			
French episode 1			24%
Teaches abbreviations			
U.S. episode 1			18%
Guides, conducts, moderates			
French episode 2			13%
Corrects, gives feedback			
U.S. episode 2			24%
Does/doesn't discipline, keep order			
U.S. episode 2			15%

3. Only concepts mentioned by more than 10% of a group are included here. This is a DRAFT based on initial coding of the questionnaires.

The number of persons who responded to the question "Describe what the teacher is doing" for each episode is as follows:

	French parents	French teachers	U.S. teachers
French episode 1	12	11	34
French episode 2	12	9	32
U.S. episode 1	12	11	34
U.S. episode 2	18	18	33

Table 1. Mean rating of what teacher was doing in U.S. episodes (5 = highest approval, 1 = lowest)

	Episode 1, Menu		Episode 2, Group	
French teachers	3.6	(n=19)	4.1	(n=18)
French parents	3.7	(n=23)	4.1	(n=28)
U.S. teachers	3.1	(n=38)	2.0	(n=37)

Table 2. Mean rating of what teacher was doing in French episodes (5 = highest approval, 1 = lowest)

	Episode 1, At Board		Episode 2, Books	
French teachers	2.7	(n=16)	2.4	(n=14)
French parents	2.8	(n=17)	2.4	(n=18)
U.S. teachers	3.1	(n=38)	2.8	(n=31)